HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

NATIONAL·AMERICAN·WOMAN·SUFFRAGE·ASSOCIATION
171 · MADISON · AVE. NEW · YORK · CITY

VOLUME II NUMBER IX

SEPTEMBER · 22 · 1916

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MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT PRESIDENT.
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THE NEW NATIONAL BOARD

JAN 30 1917

HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

A printed attempt to maintain intimate contact between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its thousands of members throughout the country.

Published once a month by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. Subscription price per year 25c.

Entered as second class matter Oct. 6, 1915, at Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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National American Woman Suffrage Association

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MunseyBuilding,Washington,D.C.

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FOREWORD

The Emergency Convention is over and has become part of the history of our great movement.

For the first time a platform of work for a nation-wide campaign has been adopted. The intent is to arouse latent sentiment and to unite the adherents of our cause into a larger army; to put a plan of action into the hands of this army which will make it so dynamic a power that it will force the final victory. The convention adopted a national campaign in order that the states might enjoy the comradeship of a common work and the cause receive the stimulus of a "strong pull and a pull all together."

The plans are constructive, practical, workable. The success or failure now rests with the executive strength of the several states.

A few, apparently very few, were disappointed that the convention did not depart from the policy of non-partisanship. A resolution with the practical meaning of an anti-party-in-power policy was introduced by a delegate who is universally respected and esteemed. It was discussed freely and for more than two hours. It was lost by an overwhelming majority. It is natural that to many the outcome of a heated presidential election should seem the crux of a movement like ours, but that election will be over within two months; our campaign must continue. We are now free to approach the next Congress, Republican or Democratic, without prejudice for or against our cause, and we shall need all the votes either party will give.

There is more "punch" in partisan tactics. They furnish more interesting headlines to a sensation-loving public and superficial students of political events see in them an easy victory, presented by a grateful victor to the women of our land, with the consent of a contrite, vanquished foe. The picture is alluring, but alas, there is "a lot of human natur' in most folks" and that isn't the way politics works in America.

Our policy is safe, sane and sound. By a few we shall be called "conservative," "slow" or even "senseless." We shall deserve these and many other anathemas, if our policy is not enforced by courageous, hard, never ceasing work with an intelligent plan behind it. That plan the new platforms furnish.

The Convention, too, authorized a more concentrated campaign for the Federal amendment while at the same time preparing the States for ratification. In fact the road over which we shall march directly to our goal is surveyed and laid out.

The road is not long and the construction should not consume much time. The date for the final march must be fixed by the devotion, activity, initiative and execution of the workers in the States. The gathering for the setting of the first foundation for the new road is October 7th, the next, October 21. Do not forget; do not shirk; do not delay. These are Federal Amendment Days. The State Presidents will tell their workers what to do and how to do it.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

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THE NEW PROGRAM

At the close of the Atlantic City Convention it was the consensus of opinion, not only among the delegates, but among the newspaper correspondents as well, that the emergency-called Convention was the most important suffrage gathering ever held in this country. The women assembled there represented the clearest thinkers in America and the constructive program which they outlined assures success within the immediate future. As the speed with which the final victory approaches depends entirely upon the amount of co-operation given by the State Associations and the individual suffragists to the National Association in the carrying out of this program, it behooves every good suffragist to get busy at once.

Meanwhile every suffragist affiliated with the National should be fully acquainted with the plans that have been mapped out for the coming year. These plans are well summarized in the platforms of work and principles adopted by the Convention as well as in the resolutions adopted relating to political policy.

For the benefit of those who did not attend the Convention, a summary of these platforms and resolutions is herein presented.

PLATFORM OF WORK.

Recommended by the Executive Council and Adopted by the Convention.

Platform I.—Relating to Federal Work.

1. That the convention of 1917 be held in the month of March, or thereabouts.
2. The National Board shall continue to conduct a campaign in support of the Federal Amendment.
3. It shall continue a lobby in Washington until the Federal Amendment shall be submitted.
4. That the matter of the removal of headquarters to Washington shall be left to the judgment of the National Board.
5. It shall conduct a nation-wide campaign of education, agitation, organization and publicity in support of the Federal Amendment.
6. The nation-wide campaign shall include the following:

(*a*) A million dollar fund for the campaign from October 1, 1916, to October 1, 1917.
(*b*) A monthly propaganda demonstration to be simultaneously conducted throughout the nation.
(*c*) At least 4 campaign directors and 200 organizers in the field and a vigorous, thorough organization in every state.
(*d*) A nationalized scheme for education through literature.
(*e*) National suffrage schools.
(*f*) A Speakers' Bureau.
(*g*) Innumerable activities for agitation and publicity.
(*h*) A National Press Bureau with department in each state.
(*i*) A National Publicity Council with department in each state.
(*j*) A National Committee on non-English Propaganda whose duty it shall be to extend suffrage propaganda among the various non-English speaking races.

Platform II.—Relating to State Work.

1. A council of the representatives of states shall meet in Executive Session in connection with each annual National convention, to hear reports as to the status of each campaign state and to fix upon states which shall be recommended to go forward with campaigns.
2. No State Association shall ask the legislature of its state for the submission of a state constitutionl amendment or for the submission of the question by initiative or by a referred law until such Council or the National Board has been given the opportunity to investigate conditions and to give consent.

(*a*) Any state which proceeds to a referendum campaign without securing this consent shall be prepared to finance its own campaign without help from the National Board.
(*b*) Any state which has secured the consent of the National Board to proceed with a campaign shall have the co-operation of the Board to the fullest extent of its powers.

3. As soon as possible experienced campaign managers shall be trained for the work and shall be supplied to a campaign state to work under direction of the National Board in co-operation with the State Board.
4. States willing to contribute to campaigns in other states should do so by the advice of the National Board, who should be informed as to conditions, and the money so contributed should be passed through the National Treasury.
5. The rule that the National Board shall do nothing in states without the consent of the state shall be repealed.
6. The organization, press work, literature distributed and general activity of the states shall be standardized.
7. Regular reports on all of these departments shall be made to the National Board in order that advice and help may be rendered when most needed.
8. The National Board shall have the authority to Nationalize the suffrage movement by unifying the work as far as is possible.
9. That any states not desiring to work for the Federal Amendment may remain members of the National Association provided they do not work actively against it.

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RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO POLITICAL POLICY.

Resolved: That we reaffirm our non-partisan attitude concerning National political parties, but this policy does not preclude the right of any member to work against the election of any candidate who opposes woman suffrage, nor shall it refer to the personal attitude of enfranchised women.

Resolved: That the 48th Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association instructs its Congressional Committee to concentrate all its resources upon a determined effort to carry the Federal Amendment through the last session of the 64th Congress. It pledges the support of the state organizations and authorizes the National Board to take such direction of the work in the states as may be necessary in its judgment to accomplish this end.

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PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES.

The object of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is to put into effect the resolution adopted in 1848 at the first Woman's Rights Convention that "It is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred rights to the elective franchise."

In pursuance of this policy the 48th Annual Convention has instructed its Congressional Committee to concentrate all its resources upon a determined effort to carry the Federal Amendment through the last session of the 64th Congress; and it pledges the support of the state organizations to this end.

This association now declares that as a result of its work, woman suffrage is in practical operation in twelve states and one territory; that it has refuted every objection urged against it; that it has plainly demonstrated its value to the states and to

the women themselves; that this is proved by the fact that no state has made an effort to repeal it; that an immense amount of favorable public sentiment has been created as shown in the resolutions adopted by hundreds of international and national organizations for other objects with millions of men and women members, while not one has gone on record in opposition; that the press of the country is largely favorable; that its own membership has increased by hundreds of thousands; and, most significant of all, that every political party has put in its platform a plank for woman suffrage and every presidential candidate has expressed himself in favor of it.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association demands that Congress shall recognize this situation by submitting without delay an amendment to the Federal Constitution which shall secure nation-wide woman suffrage. It calls attention to the increasing public opinion in favor of national legislation. It holds that the doctrine of states' rights would not be violated by the submission of a National Amendment for Woman Suffrage since it would have to be ratified by three-fourths of the State Legislatures, which are elected by popular vote.

This association calls especial attention to the fact that during the entire forty-seven years of its existence its attitude toward the political parties has been strictly non-partisan; and its victories have been due to friends in all parties. This association is firmly of the opinion that adherence or hostility to any party is to be condemned and it hereby declares its continued allegiance to the policy of non-partisanship.

Resolutions.

I.

Whereas: All political parties in their National platforms have endorsed the principle of woman suffrage, be it

Resolved: That the National American Woman Suffrage Association in convention assembled calls upon Congress to submit to the States the Constitutional Amendment providing nation-wide suffrage for women.

II.

And Whereas: The Democratic and Republican parties in endorsing the principle of Woman Suffrage have specially recognized the right of the States to settle the question for themselves, we call upon these parties in the Campaign States to take immediate action to obtain the enfranchisement of women, and in other states to take such action as the Suffrage Organizations deem expedient.

III.

Resolved: That we rejoice that during the year 1916 women have won full suffrage in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan, with only one dissenting vote in the three Parliaments; that women have been made eligible to the Council of State in Norway, and that in the United States they have obtained municipal suffrage in East Cleveland, Ohio.

That we rejoice in the significant legislative victory in New York and in the great gains made in other State Legislatures.

That we express our grateful appreciation for the many endorsements of Woman Suffrage during the past year by State and National Organizations, including the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Relief Corps.

That we rejoice that there is a plank endorsing Woman Suffrage in the National Platforms of every political party.

That all presidential candidates have declared themselves in favor, that President Wilson has said he would fight with us, that Mr. Hughes has announced his support of the Federal Amendment, and that Mr. Hanley and Mr. Benson have endorsed both methods of work.

And that we further felicitate ourselves that for the first time a President of the United States has publicly declared his belief in Woman Suffrage.

IV.

Resolved: That we express our profound sympathy with the women in the countries now at war and our sense of the advance that has been made in the cause of all women by the devotion, ability and courage with which these women have risen to the new demands made upon them.

V.

Whereas: This Association has received a letter of congratulation and sympathy from the Canadian women, therefore be it

Resolved: That this Association thanks its neighbors in Canada for their cordial greetings, and express the appreciation of the Suffragists of the United States for the tremendous impulse given to our movement by the successful efforts and great accomplishments of these women.

VI.

Whereas: Honest elections are vital to good government in this country and to the decisions in the campaigns in which amendments providing for woman suffrage are submitted, and

Whereas: Public records of all funds used in political campaigns will benefit our movement in that they will bring to light the real opponents to woman suffrage, therefore be it

Resolved: That this Convention urges the passage by Congress and the States of a thorough and comprehensive Corrupt Practices Act providing effectual punishment for offenders.

VII.

Resolved: That in recognition of Miss Clara Barton's life-long support of woman suffrage, as well as her service to the country in founding the American Red Cross and standing at its head for more than a quarter of a century, this Association endorses the bill recently introduced in Congress providing for an appropriation of $1,000 to place a suitable memorial to Miss Barton in the Red Cross Building now being constructed in the City of Washington.

VIII.

Resolved: That we express our deep appreciation of the great honor the President of the United States has done the women of the country by

coming to Atlantic City especially to address this Convention.

IX.

Resolved: That we extend our thanks to the Atlantic City Women's Suffrage Club, to Miss Mary G. Hay, to Miss Lulu Hubbard Marvel, chairman of the general committee, to Mrs. Arthur S. Chenoweth, to Mrs. J. Haines Lippincott, to Mrs. Gervase O. F. Skinner, to Mrs. Mary W. Harper, to Mrs. John J. White, and to Mrs. Wm. B. Lodenslager and to the members of their committees and sub-committees for their devoted and capable services; to Mayor Bacharach for his courteous welcome, to the Rev. A. H. Lucas, pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church and the trustees for their generous gift of the church for our first day's meeting; to the young women who have so gracefully and ably served us as ushers; to the Press, to the members of the local police force and to the many other individuals who have rendered us assistance.

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THE NEW OFFICERS.

The four newly elected officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association are all women with broad experience not only in suffrage work but also in other public activities covering a wide field.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, of Columbia, Mo., 1st Vice-President, and the recent 1st Auditor of the Association, came into suffrage work from a rich background of public service. She organized the work for Pure Food in the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and served as the Federation's Pure Food Committee Chairman until the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1908. She has been chairman of the Missouri Public Health Commission, member of the Executive Board of the State Conference of Charities, of the Missouri State Board of Charities and Corrections, and of the Governor's Committee on Tuberculosis. Before coming to the National Board, Mrs. Miller served as President of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association, and worked actively in the New York State campaign of 1915.

Mrs. Frank J. Shuler of Buffalo, Corresponding Secretary, has had long experience in mobilizing women and organizing them for action. As secretary, leader, director, organizer and speaker in the New York State Association, Mrs. Shuler had varied and invaluable suffrage experience, and during the last suffrage campaign in New York her organization methods won admiration even from anti-suffragists, who warned their workers in Buffalo that that district was the best organized in the state. Mrs. Shuler has also been President of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, she is an honorary member of the Teachers' League of Buffalo, and is the present parliamentarian of the New York State Society of the National Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith of Kentucky is the grand-niece of Henry Clay and the grand-daughter of Cassius M. Clay, who remained a Union man throughout the war. Mrs. Smith is a graduate of Ann Arbor University, and has always been prominent both in club life and politics in Kentucky. She served as President of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs and when elected Recording Secretary of the National Association, she was holding the office of President of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association. Mrs. Smith will not stand for re-election to this latter office in November, however, as the work of her National office will require her undivided attention.

Miss Heloise Meyer, 1st Auditor of the Association, lives at Lenox, Massachusetts. She is chairman of the Berkshire County Equal Suffrage Association, and is very active in public work, being especially interested in the conservation of natural resources. Miss Meyer is the sister of George vonL. Meyer, who was Secretary of the Navy during President Taft's administration.

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE FLAG.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association acquired a new national suffrage flag at the Atlantic City Convention. It was presented to Mrs. Catt and the National by the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association on Friday, September 8th. The banner has a gold background with an eagle in the center, surrounded by eleven blue stars, representing the eleven full suffrage states. This national flag may be adopted as a state flag by each organization, the eagle in that case to be substituted by the state emblem. In presenting the flag, Mrs. J. O. Miller, of the Pennsylvania Association, asid in part:

"We feel that the suffrage movement should have one flag for all and all should be for one flag, and we trust that if this flag is adopted by this Convention that it may soon wave over a 'Solid

America'—solid for suffrage. We trust that we will have a united America, that there will be one association working for a Federal Amendment, one state association only in a state working for a state amendment, one county association only in a county working for a state amendment, because we realize that the political boss glories in division of opposition, and it is only by union that we go on to speedy victory. We want this movement to have one body, one name, one purpose, for then our victory will come speedily, and then we will teach the people of this country that suffrage is the paramount issue of today."

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WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH INDIANA?

One of the signers of the minority in St. Louis was Mr. Stephen Fleming, of Indiana. When the vote was taken Indiana cast 24 votes for eliminating the suffrage plank and six for keeping it in. Later information revealed the fact that a large number of delegates were absent, but the chairman voted all the absent ones in favor of the elimination. The six present who did not want the plank eliminated preferred to let the matter drop than to advertise the fact that the steam-roller was at work in the Indiana delegation.

Who is Stephen Fleming? *A brewer.* He was also a State Senator from Fort Wayne. He grew very angry because the Senate passed an anti-lobby bill and resigned at once, leaving the city. A few weeks after his departure the Senate, after a caucus on Friday evening, passed on Saturday morning the presidential suffrage bill which was being supported by the State Association. Only two of the Senators voted against it. As fast as trains could carry him, Mr. Fleming returned to Indianapolis and *simultaneously with his return the largest liquor lobby in the history of Indiana swarmed down upon the capitol. Mr. Fleming had resigned his seat, but he led the lobby against the bill.* As a consequence the bill was killed in the House Committee.

Mr. Fleming was alleged to have said that if the bill went through it would mean $400,000 loss to him. Apparently he believed that if the women of Indiana had the right to vote for president that that vote was going to close his brewery, although just what connection a vote for presidential electors has with a vote on local option or State-wide prohibition is a question which no one but Mr. Fleming can explain.

It is also alleged that he spent a large sum of money to defeat the suffrage measure.

Indiana, like many another state, has a wet and dry fight, and the wets apparently are afraid that honest votes may mean a dry result so they are at their old tricks of conspiracy to win by un-American undemocratic methods.

Brewers have the same rights under the flag as other citizens—no more, no less. The same freedom of campaign belongs to them as to others—no more, no less. When they, or any other interest hard pressed resort to the use of money to control political results they are no longer citizens possessing equal rights. They have fallen into the category of Political Criminals.

But Indiana will not long endure this kind of opposition to woman suffrage. Brewers' money will prove a boomerang which will hit the men who use it and not the women who are still unenfranchised because of it. Have courage, women of Indiana!

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CONGRESSIONAL REPORT.

Because the Atlantic City Convention decided that every effort should be made by the members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to press action for the passage of the Federal Amendment, a brief résumé of the work that has been done by the National Congressional Committee this year may be of interest to the News Letter readers.

THE SENATE:—In the Senate the resolution providing for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment was introduced on December 7th, 1915, and referred to the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage. On January 8th, 1916, this committee reported favorably and the measure was placed on the calendar in the Senate. Since then it has come to the top a number of times, but at the request of suffrage senators was held over until a more auspicious time.

As the National Association was desirous of having a vote on the measure at the session just closed, however, the Congressional Committee began special work to that end immediately after the Republican and Democratic Conventions had placed suffrage planks in their national platforms. This course was taken in order to ascertain the interpretation which would be given the planks by members of Congress.

On June 27th, Mrs. Catt, Miss Patterson, Miss Hay and Mrs. Roessing held an informal conference with the senators of the enfranchised states in the office of Senator Shafroth of Colorado, the purpose being to secure the assistance of these men in getting the suffrage measure to a vote in the Senate. The necessity for the Senate's consideration of emergency measures made it impossible to proceed at that time, but on July 22nd at the request of the National Committee, Senator Thomas made preliminary plans for a vote being taken on the measure without debate. He wrote to each senator, asking whether he would consent to a vote without debate and later informed the Congressional Committee that on both the Republican and Democratic sides there were men who would not give such consent, some having stated that they had been asked by certain suffragists not to consent.

In August, Senator Thomas gave up work upon securing a vote. It was then late in the session and some suffrage senators had left to start their own state campaigns for re-election. The National Committee also decided it would be wiser to defer the vote until winter so that the full strength of the suffrage vote in the senate might be in attendance.

THE HOUSE:—The progress of the suffrage measure in the House has been blockaded for months by the Judiciary Committee. The amend-

ment was introduced in the House by five men and all resolutions were referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House, which, in turn, referred them to Sub-Committee No. 1. On February 9th, the Sub-Committee reported No. 1 introduced by Mr. Raker to the main committee without recommendation, the vote being 4 to 3.

On February 15th, the Judiciary Committee, by a vote of 9 to 7, voted to refer the measure back to Sub-Committee No. 1 to be held until December 14th.

On March 24th, the main Committee agreed to take final action on March 28th.

The fact that on March 28th the suffrage resolution was tied up with the prohibition amendment caused one member of the committee who had been pledged to vote for the suffrage resolution to default and vote in favor of postponing it and all other amendments until December.

Since this every effort has been made by the Congressional Committee to have this action reconsidered and to get the resolution out of committee, but every attempt has been in vain.

SPECIAL: The Congressional Committee has begun a campaign recently to secure the pledge of all candidates both for election and re-election to the Senate and House.

THE CANVASS OF CANDIDATES:—Up to date the Congressional Committee has received 309 replies from those candidates for election to the House and Senate who have been queried as to their attitude on woman suffrage. Of this number 269 have promised to vote for the amendment if they are elected; 21 have admitted that they will vote against it and 19 have returned non-committal replies. It is interesting to know that in two of the biggest eastern states, New York and Pennsylvania, the candidates for Congress and the Senate are almost a unit in their support of suffrage. The entire 59 candidates from New York who replied to the Congressional Committee's questionnaire said they would vote favorably on the amendment when it came before them. 54 of the 56 Pennsylvania candidates who replied made similar pledges. 7 candidates from Maine also have pledged their suffrage allegiance.

WHERE THE STATES CAN HELP:—Suffrage events this year indicate that the increase in correct thought concerning the Federal Amendment is about to culminate in correct action. But such action will come only when the states also do active congressional work. In other words, a lobby in Washington for special educational purposes may be a good thing—there is always value in that kind of work—but the states will have to do special educational and political work if the Committee is to have the political power in Washington to achieve political action there to the extent of a two-thirds favorable vote on the amendment. If the Federal Amendment is to be put through this coming session, the suffragists in the various states must work just as hard in their states as they expect the Congressional Committee to work in Washington.

PROGRESS OF THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE 64TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1.

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

History of Amendment.

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878 by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE,

January 12, 1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 64th Congress

IN THE SENATE,

December 7, 1915, by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas.
Referred in the Senate to Committee on Woman Suffrage.
Reported in the Senate on January 8, with a favorable recommendation.

IN THE HOUSE,

December 6, 1915, by Representative Raker, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden.
Referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to its sub-committee No. 1.
Reported to the Judiciary Committee by the sub-committee on February 15, 1916, with recommendation that the Judiciary Committee report it to the House without recommendation. By a vote of 9 to 7 on February 15, the Judiciary Committee returned the amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14. On March 14, the Judiciary Committee by unanimous consent agreed to take final Committee action on the amendment on March 28. On March 28, the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10 to 9 postponed indefinitely all Constitutional amendments.

Status:

IN THE SENATE,

On the calendar awaiting action.

IN THE HOUSE,

In the Judiciary Committee.

DATA DEPARTMENT.—MARY SUMNER BOYD.

MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES—(continued).

Registration, residence requirements, the discontinuance in many states of special baits for the immigrant, and provisions that act practically as race discrimination in individual states or whole groups of states—these are some of the elements that have caused a nation-wide fall since the 70's in the percentage of voters to population.

Historians have tried to estimate the changes in our voting percentage at different times, and to compare one locality of today with another. Thus Dealey believes that in the colonies taken together about 6% of the population voted, while today the percentage is 20.

Locally at the present time the variations are quite as wide. McLaughlin & Hart* show that in the election of congressmen in 1910 the ratio of voters to population in certain states was as follows: Mississippi, 1 in 75 people; Carolina, 1 in 50; Massachusetts, 1 in 8 *and Utah 1 in 4.*

The 50% difference between Massachusetts and Utah these writers lay to woman suffrage, and the smallness of the vote in the Southern States, to the impediments presented by their constitutions. Nevertheless, in spite of local differences there will, on the basis of the 1912 election, actually vote throughout the United States in 1916 a total of over 16,000,000 male citizens. Just how many more of the 29,000,000 or so of males 21 years and over could vote if they wanted to, it is impossible to say, but the proportion of indifferent males eligible but unwilling to vote is notoriously large.

A Fo tnote for Woman Suffragists

Since the Civil War all new state constitutions have been submitted to the referendum. Until then, this method of adoption was exceptional. Of the 34 states in the Union up to 1862 the constitutions of only ten were voted on by the people. In the whole group of Central Western States of this period, not the people themselves but the Federal Congress laid down the method of adoption of the constitutions for statehood, suffrage clause and all.

It is true that in many of the 34, later constitutions or amendments were submitted to the referendum. But the fact remains that the foundation male suffrage in half our states was not the gift of the people themselves. The women are therefore under a special handicap in their struggle for the vote, for the male suffrage amendments which the people did actually vote on and pass dealt with property discriminations against white males, and it is not surprising in a democracy that the electorate were quite willing to vote down property privileges. The absurd negative vote against negro suffrage in Ohio in 1912 shows that where prejudice happens to be on the other side, the people's voice is not always the voice of sense. It is claimed by Ohio suffragists that this entirely superfluous amendment was presented side by side with the woman suffrage amendment of that year, to increase the prejudice against the latter.

Prejudice and corruption working on ignorance are the elements which make the outcome of a referendum vote uncertain.

Only 17 constitutions today have educational requirements. In half a dozen Southern States these requirements are merely alternative choices. This makes it possible for many illiterate white males to vote. In Georgia and Louisiana, the form of ballot makes it easy for the white man to vote in candidates' elections without reading, for on some ballots not even the party name is used, much less does the voter have to choose out the name of his candidate(*a*). A mark under the sign of the donkey is easy to make, and that is all that is required of him. In more than a third of our 48 states, though the party name is used also, the emblem is the real guide. New York does not even relegate this emblem to the top of the column. It puts its picture writing before the name of each candidate, so that the illiterate voter voting blindly can make no mistake in recognizing the sign of the machine which controls his vote. The ballots of some states give more mechanical help to the illiterate than others, but only about a dozen states have the headless ballot which makes ignorant voting impossible.

Voters from whom no intelligence is required can easily be marshalled to the defeat of a referendum.

There is a democratic side to the lack of educational requirements in some state constitutions, but there is an undemo-

State	Education	Property Tax or Poll Tax	Alternatives†	Miscellaneous‡
Mont...		Tax-payers vote on questions of taxation.		Vote by mail.
Neb....		Elector voting at school election must own property or have children of school age.		Six months residence in State required. Aliens who have taken out first papers may vote. Vote by mail.
Nev....		Prepayment of poll tax.		Six months residence in State required.
N. C....	A.* Read and write any sect. of Const. in English.	Prepayment of poll-tax for year previous. Property qualification prohibited.	B.* No male who was legal voter in any State in 1867, and no descendant of such, shall be denied right to register as permanent voter (before Dec. 1908) by reason of failure to possess educational qualification.	Two years residence in State required.
N. H.....	Read N. H. Const. in English and write. Does not apply to those voting in 1912 or those 60 years in 1904.	¡Prepayment of all taxes including poll, assessed for year prior to election.		
N. D.....	(Legislature authorized to establish educational test.)			Vote by mail.
N. J.....				
N. M.....	(Negative: The right of any citizen to vote shall not be restricted, abridged, or impaired, on account of religion, race, language or color, or inability to speak, read or write the Eng. or Spanish language.)			
N. Y.....		For school vote must have children of school age, or taxable real estate or personal property of $50.		
Ohio.....				
Okla....	A.* Read and write any sect. of Okla. Const.	Poll tax required of voters only.	B.* No person voting in 1866, in any State or then residing in foreign nation, nor descendant of such, shall be denied right to vote because unable to read and write Const. (Held uncon-	

*Encyclopedia of American Government, Article Suffrage.

(*a*) See Newsletter for July for Georgia primary ballot, and Lousiana Elec. Law, P. 24 (ed. of 1915).

cratic side where this ignorance is corrupted and exploited or played upon and prejudiced to the defeat of a democratic amendment. In six states (*b*) foreigners not yet naturalized or speaking English and who have been in the country from six months (*c*) to a year, according to the requirements of the various states, may themselves vote against allowing women to vote.

Prejudice and lack of understanding of the issue has an important influence on this foreign vote, but so also has corruption among these newcomers who learn that vote-selling is the custom of the country.

The constitutional difficulties thrown about the passage of a state referendum are only too well known. In less than half a dozen male suffrage states is a mere majority of the legislature and of the people sufficient. In those states where very large majorities are required a relatively small amount of bribery and corruption goes a long way. To playing upon local ignorance and dishonesty can be added wholesale colonization in the seven male suffrage states where residence requirements are 3 or 6 months(*d*).

Recently the opinion has been expressed in more than one state that fraudulent votes were cast on the last suffrage amendment in that state. When corruption is suspected, what is the redress?

In theory, the redress should be a recount of votes and the throwing out of those found fraudulent. In many states however, this cannot be done. In not a few of the 48 states the Election Law makes no provision for election contests with or without recount of votes. This does not always mean that a recount is impossible, but it does in many states(*e*).

In 13 states contests on constitutional amendments are definitely provided for. Seven of these—Ohio, New Mexico, Wyoming, Utah, New Jersey, Minnesota and Michigan—have these provisions in their election laws; six—Illinois, Texas, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Oregon and Arizona—by virtue of statutes or precedents referred to by the attorney general or some other official.

Name of State	Education	Property Tax or Poll Tax	Alternatives†	Miscellaneous‡
Okla..... *cont.)*			stitutional by U. S. Court in case discriminating against negro)	
Oregon..		To vote in school election must have property in district or children of school age.		Six months residence in State required.
Pa.....		If 22 or over male citizen must have paid State or County Tax.		Six months residence in State required—for qualified elector who moved and returns.
R. I....		To vote on City Council or any measure imposing tax, must have paid tax on $134. A poll tax (school fund) assessed on electors only.		Two years residence in State required.
S. C....	A.* Read and write any sect. of S. C. Const. (1895-1898—to secure life registration: read or understand and explain when read.)	Prepayment of poll tax six months before election. Proof of payment of all taxes assessed. B.* Proof of ownership and taxation on $300 of property in S. C.		Two years residence in State required.
S. D....				Six months residence in State required. Alien who has taken out first papers can vote.
Tenn...		Proof of payment of full taxes assessed. Male citizens pay poll-tax.		
Texas..		Prepayment of poll tax. Only taxpayers vote on expenditure of money.		Aliens who have taken out first papers can vote.
Utah...		Poll tax on male citizens. Payment of property tax required in order to vote on measures creating indebtedness. Otherwise property qualification forbidden		
Vermont				Vote by mail.
Virginia	A.* Registration 1902 - 1903: Read any sec. of Va. Const. or understand when read. A.* Since 1904 application in own hand-	Prepayment of poll tax. (Not required of veterans.) B.* Registration 1902-1903. Ownership on Virginia property on which $1.00 tax.	C. Registration 1902-1903: Any one serving in War of U. S.—Confed.—or any State before 1902. D.? Registration 1902-1903.	Two years residence in State required. Vote by mail.

(*b*) See Schedule. Delaware and Kansas are for obvious reasons omitted in the above statement.

(*c*) In Nebraska, Maryland and South Dakota.

(*d*) In Nebraska, Maryland, South Dakota, Pennsylvania, Maine, Michigan and Minnesota.

(*e*) From some states it has been impossible to get a copy of the election laws, and the information gained from attorneys general has often been incomplete. In some cases information was refused.

In more than half the states contests are possible on candidates' elections, but many of these make no provisions for amendment contests. In two of these—Maryland and Missouri—the attorney general holds that these provisions cannot be stretched to cover amendments, but in four—Kentucky, South Dakota, Colorado and West Virginia—the attorney general or some other official is of the opinion that the law can be so stretched. As two of the male suffrage states in this group are on the eve of a woman suffrage election, the opinion of their officials is worth quoting:

Says the Attorney General of West Virginia:

> "We have no provision for a recount of the vote or for redress in the event of fraud in the election. I should think, however, under the law as to the holding of general elections, that in case of fraud in an election on a constitutional amendment the votes could be thrown out if it was made to appear that they were fraudulently cast."

The Legislative Reference Librarian of South Dakota writes:

> "There is no specific statute for recount; undoubtedly it could be secured under statutes providing for general election contests."

A group of seven states are uncertain. These are Louisiana; Arkansas, Washington, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Iowa and New York.

Louisiana and Arkansas and Washington are extreme examples of the fragmentary character of many of the laws which aim to cover contests.

In Louisiana an act of 1914 prohibits false returns on a constitutional amendment and sets a penalty therefor. But this law provides no machinery for proving the returns false, so the attorney general is probably substantially correct in stating that "there is no provision in our laws relating to the matter."

The constitution of Arkansas assumes the right to contest elections of any sort in the following words:

> "A vote unlawfully thrown out must be counted on trial of a contest arising out of an election."

An Arkansas lawyer, not a state official, disputes the right to contest, however, and the above is the only reference to the possibility in Arkansas law.

(*Concluded in October issue*)

FINANCE.

TREASURER'S ANNUAL REPORT.

November 1, 1915, to August 31, 1916.

EMMA WINNER ROGERS, *Treasurer.*

In account with the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Balance Sheet for 10 Months Ended August 31, 1916.

ASSETS.

CASH:		
In Bank	$18,219.67	
Miscellaneous	136.00	
		$18,355.67
INVESTMENTS:		
NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO.		
2,000 Shares Com. Stock, par value, $10.00	$20,000.00	
600 Shares Preferred Stock, par value, $10.00	6,000.00	
	$26,000.00	
Less: Reserve	20,411.35	
	$ 5,588.65	
CINCINNATI STREET RAILWAY CO.		
100 Shares Capital Stock, par value, $50.00	$ 5,000.00	
One Bale Cotton	50.00	
*New York City Bonds	7,123.75	
		$17,762.40
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES		2,022.87
TOTAL ASSETS		38,140.94

LIABILITIES.

LOAN:		
Trustees Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund	$1,000.00	
Vouchers Payable	224.75	
		$1,224.75
NET WORTH		$36,916.19

NOTE:—*$3,000 New York City Bonds were purchased with the Bulkley Memorial Fund. $4,000 New York City Bonds were purchased with the Coggeshall Memorial Fund.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

November 1, 1915, to August 31, 1916.

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS.	
Members' Dues, 1916.	$ 6,403.20	Headquarters	$16,530.64
Members' Dues, 1915.	640.40	Publicity Department.	9,096.57
General Donations	1,729.80	National Congressional Committee	4,675.65
Restricted Donations	23,494.15	News Letter	981.61
Annual Pledges: (Washington)	36,392.28	Demonstrations	6,081.74
Annual Pledges: (Nashville)	674.25	Organization	3,148.76
Headquarters' News Letter	427.79	Campaigns	21,131.15
Dividend on Stock (Cinn. Street R. R.).	225.00	Research	1,604.84
Interest on New York City Bonds	63.75	New York City Bonds	7,218.79
Bank Interest	322.77	Miscellaneous	2,042.42
Mary Coggeshall Bequest	9,455.79		$72,512.17
Miscellaneous	2,033.69	Balance, Aug. 31, 1916	18,219.67
	$81,862.87		
Balance in Bank, October 31, 1915	8,868.97		
	$90,731.84		$90,731.84

MONTHLY FINANCIAL REPORT.

Contributions Received from August 1 to August 31, 1916.

GENERAL DONATIONS.

M. P. Clough	$ 1.00
Evelyn B. Hartridge	5.00
Laura J. Stern	1.00
Mrs. Edwin Liriton	3.00
Mrs. Josepha Whitney	10.00
Mrs. Charles Williams	5.00
Mrs. Clement Griscom	25.00
Mrs. Edmund Stirling	5.00
Adella Potter	200.00
L. L. Blankenburg	10.00
Mrs. John Gribbel	10.00
Nina F. Lewis	25.00
Mrs. Charles Tiffany	50.00
Jean Brooks Greenleaf	10.00
Mrs. Everett Colby	25.00
Mrs. William Willcox	25.00
Annie L. Sears	25.00
Mrs. J. Hedges Crowell	25.00
Mrs. James M. Hills	20.00
Ida Craft	50.00
Mrs. V. Everit Macy	25.00
Adelaide Baylor	10.00
Mrs. James T. Wylie	25.00
Mrs. John A. Cleveland	20.00
Mrs. Edward W. Biddle	$ 5.00
Mrs. S. Burns Weston	10.00
Dimner Beeber	10.00
Mrs. Harry Hamlin	10.00
Mary R. Ballon	10.00
Sarah Bowerman	5.00
Mary W. Chapman	5.00
Margaret S. Wier	5.00
Florence Skeffington	5.00
Blanche E. Booth	5.00
Marion Mott	5.00
P. Francesca Maine	5.00
Mrs. Henry Graves	5.00
Mrs. Neill Roach	5.00
Mrs. Albert J. Norton	15.00
Miss M. Frances Wills	50.00
Mrs. Alfred Winsor	10.00
Mrs. George A. Vail	25.00
Gertrude B. Smith	10.00
Frances Port Brown	25.00
Caroline Reilly	10.00
Mrs. William Gilchrist	25.00
Mrs. Booker T. Washington	5.00
Jean Stirling	10.00
Mrs. J. W. Grant	$ 5.00
Mrs. Harold Gifford	25.00
Mrs. Philip Potter	5.00
Mrs. T. M. Orr	5.00
Mrs. E. G. McGilton	5.00
Mrs. Herbert Rogers	5.00
Illinois Equal Suffrage Association	217.50
Chicago Equal Suffrage Association	217.50
	$1,370.00

ANNUAL PLEDGES.

Mrs. Martin Kent Northam	$ 10.00
Helen Emerson	5.00
Annie Trumbull	25.00
Brookline Equal Suffrage Association	25.00
Susan W. FitzGerald	25.00
Mrs. A. K. Taylor	100.00
Mrs. Robinson A. McDowell	5.00
Chicago Equal Suffrage Association	500.00
Mary Claire O'Brien	10.00
Mrs. G. Edgar Allen	5.00
Anna V. Lewis	35.00
Ohio Woman Suffrage Association	22.00
Mrs. Raymond Brown	4.00
Arkansas Woman Suffrage Association	39.00
Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith	10.00
Campaign Committee, Philadelphia	50.00
Ruth Verlenden	25.00
Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association	373.00
Mrs. R. T. Oliver	10.00
Mrs. Wilbur Brotherton	50.00
Emma B. Sweet	14.00
Mrs. Guilford Dudley	10.00
Mrs. Frances Whiteside	25.00
Delaware Equal Suffrage Association	30.00
Boston Equal Suffrage Association	25.00
Mrs. James Morrisson	160.00
Florida Equal Suffrage Association	25.00
Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw	100.00
Sara Wadsworth	25.00
Mrs. Richard Aldrich	50.00
Mrs. F. C. Bethell	100.00
Equal Suffrage League, Virginia	100.00
Mrs. C. C. Catt	149.57
Equal Suffrage League, Baltimore	100.00
Mrs. John C. Lee	200.00
Anna Howard Shaw	25.00
Mrs. W. G. Dwight	10.00
Mrs. William Benedict	10.00
Marion Reilly	150.00
Mrs. Robert GouldShaw	1,000.00
Mrs. Solon Jacobs	721.34
Mrs. George Lamb	10.00
Mrs. Grace Seton	11.00
Mrs. W. D. Kerlin	25.00
Caroline M. Brown	2.00
North Carolina Equal Suffrage Association	5.00
Wellesley Equal Suffrage League	5.00
Mrs. Ethel Puffer Howes	10.00
Mrs. George Rublee	25.00
Elizabeth Towne	10.00
Harriet May Mills	25.00
Mrs. George A. Piersol	10.00
Mrs. George H. Lewis	25.00
Mrs. E. P. Alexander	1.00
Mrs. Andreas Ueland	25.00
Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association	40.00
Vida Hunt Francis	25.00
Ridgefield Equal Franchise League	50.00
Mrs. Atwater	100.00
Virginia Thorburn	10.00
Mrs. Henry Cannon	50.00
Mrs. E. J. Nordstrom	25.00
Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers	$ 50.00
Ohio Woman Suffrage Association	100.00
Miss Esther Ogden	25.00
Mrs. Wirt Dexter	500.00
N. J. Woman Suffrage Association	525.00
Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, Inc.	100.00
Gratia Erickson	25.00
Mrs. Fannie Harrison	25.00
Dr. Mary Hussey	10.00
Mrs. Stanley McCormick	1,500.00
	7,706.91

DUES.

Just Government League, Maryland	$ 20.00
Mass. Pol. Eq. Union	150.00
De. Eq. Suf. Assn	6.50
Alabama Eq. Suffrage Association	4.50
Maine	12.10
Natl. College Eq. Suf. League	450.00
N. J. Woman Suf. Assn.	280.00
Equal Suffrage League, Portland	3.00
No. Dakota Votes for Women League	10.40
Illinois Equal Suffrage Association	500.00
R. I. Equal Suffrage Association	20.00
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association	150.00
Missouri Equal Suffrage Association	150.00
D. of C. State Eq. Suf. Association	1.70
Woman Suffrage Party of La	20.00
Evanston Pol. Eq. League	21.80
Nevada Eq. Suffrage Association	25.50
Georgia Woman Suf. Assn	20.00
South Carolina Eq. Suf. League	20.00
Florida Eq. Suf. Assn	8.10
Arkansas Woman Suffrage Association	20.00
Friends Equal Rights Assn	13.20
Washington Woman Suf. Council	20.00
So. Dakota Universal Franchise League	10.00
Woman's Fran. League of Indiana	51.10
Tenn. Eq. Suffrage Association	50.00
Tenn. Eq. Suffrage Association	50.00
Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Assn.	75.00
Maryland Woman Suffrage Association	41.00
Ladies Modern Maccabees	50.00
Woman Suf. Party of Providence	20.00
Colorado Eq. Suffrage Assn	20.00
Michigan Equal Suf. Association	150.00
Tenn. Eq. Suf. Assn., Inc.	100.00
Miss. Woman Suffrage Association	20.00
Louisiana Eq. Suf. Association	20.00
	2,533.90

CAMPAIGNS.

Mass. W. S. Association	$ 208.50
Anna H. Shaw—Estate Mary S. Anthony	100.00
	$308.50
Total	$11,919.31

—:o:—

"The Congress of Mothers," somebody called the convention, for as one woman said," I never heard so much about babies and children in all my life as I have at this suffrage convention. Don't tell me that suffragists are disappointed spinsters. I never saw so many enthusiastic mothers gathered together in one place!"

PRESIDENT WILSON CATCHES "THE WHOLESOME CONTAGION."

The forty-eighth annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was honored by the presence of President Wilson and Mrs. Wilson on the night of September eighth.

President Wilson journeyed from Washington to Atlantic City to deliver his personal message to the convention, arriving at the station at 5:40. According to his wish, there was no suffrage demonstration upon his arrival. The President and Mrs. Wilson reached the New Nixon Theatre at 8:30, where a guard of honor comprising one representative from each of the forty-eight states awaited them at the stage door and escorted them to the front of the platform. Mrs. Stanley McCormick carried the new national suffrage banner and Mrs. Frank M. Roessing the American Flag.

After short addresses by Mrs. Raymond Robins, Dr. Owen Lovejoy, Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, and Miss Julia Lathrop, during which time the Presidential party occupied seats on the stage, President Wilson was introduced to the Convention by Mrs. Catt. The President's address follows:

Madam President, Ladies of the Association:

I have found it a real privilege to be here tonight and to listen to the addresses which you have heard. Though you may not all of you believe it, I would a great deal rather hear somebody else speak than speak myself, but I should feel that I was omitting a duty if I did not address you to-night and say some of the things that have been in my thought as I realized the approach of this evening and the duty that would fall upon me.

The astonishing thing about the movement which you represent is not that it has grown so slowly, but that it has grown so rapidly. No doubt for those who have been a long time in the struggle, like your honored president, it seems a long and arduous path that has been trodden, but when you think of the cumulative force of this movement in recent decades, you must agree with me that it is one of the most astonishing tides in modern history. Two generations ago, no doubt Madam President will agree with me in saying, it was a handful of women who were fighting for this cause. Now it is a great multitude of women who are fighting for it. And there are some interesting historical connections which I would like to attempt to point out to you. One of the most striking facts about the history of the United States is that at the outset it was a lawyers' history. Almost all of the questions to which America addressed itself, say a hundred years ago, were legal questions, were questions of method, not questions of what you were going to do with your government, but questions of how you were going to constitute your government—how you were going to balance the powers of the state and the federal government, how you were going to balance the claims of property against the processes of liberty, how you were going to make your governments up so as to balance the parts against each other so that the legislature would check the executive, and the executive the legislature, and the courts both of them put together. The whole conception of government when the United States became a nation was a mechanical conception of government, and the mechanical conception of government which underlay it was the Newtonian theory of the universe. If you pick up the Federalist, some parts of it read like a treatise on astronomy instead of a treatise on government. They speak of the centrifugal with the centripetal forces, and locate the President somewhere in a rotating system. And the whole thing is a calculation of power and an adjustment of parts. There was a time when nobody but a lawyer could know enough to run the government of the United States, and a distinguished English publicist once remarked, speaking of the complexity of the American Government, that it was no proof of the excellence of the American Constitution that it had been successfully operated, because the Americans could run any constitution. But there have been a great many technical difficulties in running it.

And then something happened. A great question arose in this country which, though complicated with legal elements, was at bottom a human question, and nothing but a question of humanity. That was the slavery question. And is it not significant that it was then, and then for the first time, that women became prominent in politics in America? Not many women. Those prominent in that day are so few that you can almost name them over a brief catalogue, but, nevertheless, they then began to play a part in writing, not only, but in public speech, which was a very novel part for women to play in America, and after the Civil War had settled some of what seemed to be the most difficult legal questions of our system, the life of the nation began not only to unfold, but to accumulate. Life in the United States was a comparatively simple matter at the time of the Civil War. There was none of that underground struggle which is now so manifest to those who look only a little way beneath the surface. Stories such as Doctor Davis has told to-night were uncommon in these simpler days. The pressure of low wages, the agony of obscure and unremunerated toil did not exist in America in anything like the same proportions that they exist now. And as our life has unfolded and accumulated, as the contacts of it have become hot, as the populations have assembled in the cities, and the cool spaces of the country have been supplemented by the feverish urban areas, the whole nature of our political questions has been altered. They have ceased to be legal questions. They have more and more become social questions, questions with regard to the relations of human beings to one another—not merely their legal relations, but their